

262 in deep pork fat. Wheat is used for *gordos*  
 252 more often than is maize.

*Nixtamal* prepared for tortillas or *gordos* is the kind used to thicken sauces or soups.

For posole the maize is cooked with oak wood ashes instead of with lime. When cooked, it is white instead of yellow, as it is when lime is used. The shell is completely removed in this process. The grain is then washed thoroughly and boiled with pork, chile, and chopped onion. Posole is essentially a fiesta dish, served especially with certain birthday celebrations.

Tamales are made from maize prepared as for posole but ground either at the power mill or on the metate. There are several kinds of tamales.

[751] Kurúnda is the most frequently made type of tamale. The maize is prepared apart from that intended for tortillas. The dough is mixed with bicarbonate of soda, which is said to prevent the tamale from constipating the eater. The *nixtamal* is then spread on the metate with the aid of the mano or grinding stone and the cook takes a quantity in the palm of the hand, molding it into a flattened ball. It is then tightly wound with several thicknesses of maize leaves (not husks) in such a fashion that the finished kurúnda is triangular in shape. The tamale is then boiled for some time in a covered vessel. The dough is thick, compact, and heavy, retaining something of the taste of the bicarbonate of soda. Usually kurúndas are the size of the palm of the hand, but for a person who is "very refined" (*muy fino*), they [576] may be made smaller, a delicate way of paying a compliment.

The kurúnda is an essential part of a great many special meals, such as those served at weddings, for entertainment of guests, and at fiestas. It is usually eaten with *čurípo* but may sometimes be eaten with *atole*. On such occasions, when kurúndas are served to men the wrappings are always removed but to women they are always served with the wrappings, possibly because the women frequently take them home. Kurúndas may also be eaten cold the next day, but usually they are heated on the [265] *comal*. They are sometimes sold on the streets [435] at 4 to 5 centavos and are always available on market days. The vendors are always women.

608 may be entered into in some cases without children being involved. In many parts of Mexico, both Indian and Mestizo, the *compadrazgo* is an extremely important aspect of social relationships and it has taken on many special localized forms. As yet, the only adequate study of the institution is that made by Spicer for the Arizona Yaqui.<sup>30</sup>

The following account of the *compadrazgo* was written by one of the Tarascan assistants, Pedro Chávez. Additions to the original Chávez manuscript are in parentheses.

[576] The *compadrazgo* is very common among the Tarascan and is highly respected. All *compadres* and *comadres*, when they meet on the street, must salute each other with the phrase "*Buenos días compadre*" (good-day) or "*Buenos días comadre*," or its equivalent in Tarascan "*nájeranku kumbáo* (or *koméri*)."<sup>30</sup> This obligation is especially strong between *comadres* or *compadres de pila*, as are called the *compadres* of baptism of a child. In this case it is obligatory to shake hands in sign of a certain mutual respect the two maintain. (These obligations endure for life, even though the child may have died long since.)

Classes of *compadres*: Among the *compadres* exist the following classes:

1. *Compadres* of baptism.
2. *Compadres* of confirmation.
3. *Compadres* of the crown (*corona*) or circumcision.
4. *Compadres* of marriage.

The degree of mutual respect and appreciation between *compadres* is approximately in the order in which they are given. (It should be noted that there are really two classes of *compadres* of marriage. There are the godparents of the bride and groom, usually a married couple, and the relatives of the bride and groom who become *compadres* as described below.)

608 851 Duties: The main duties are those of *compadres* of baptism. Immediately after the act of baptism (in which the infant is carried to church and the small fee paid by the godparents), they say to each other "*comadre*" or "*compadre*" or "*koméri*" and "*kumbá*," which are the same as the Spanish. This is the first duty and the first occasion it is said. From this arises the duty to care for the godchild, for example, to treat it as nearly like a son as one's resources permit. The godparents have the duty of giving the godchild some kind of clothing, such as a hat, shirt, or trousers, whenever they can afford to do so. This can be done as often as the godfather wishes. The father of the boy or girl has the duty of educating the child, telling him that he has the obligation to speak to the godparents with the words "*pagrinitu*" or "*magrinitu*." (If the godchild dies before the age of 10, the godfather must provide the burial clothing.)

<sup>30</sup> Spicer, 1944, p. 31 ff.

[p. 199a]

## CASE 7

(3 people in family.)

|                                                            | Hours         |
|------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| Tortillas ( $\frac{1}{2}$ hour morning and afternoon)..... | 1             |
| Going to mill.....                                         | $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Carrying water, 3 ollas, twice a day..                     | $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Preparing food .....                                       | $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Marketing .....                                            | $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Sweeping .....                                             | $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Shelling corn .....                                        | $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Visiting mother daily.....                                 | 1             |
| Care of child.....                                         | 2 to 3        |
| Resting.....                                               | $\frac{1}{2}$ |

Daily minimum (exclusive of rest periods) about ..... 5

Washing and bath, Fridays, about 4 hours.

## CASE 8

(4 people in family.)

|                                         | Hours                          |
|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Tortillas, morning and afternoon, total | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$                |
| Going to mill .....                     | $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Carrying water (5 to 7 ollas daily)...  | $\frac{3}{4}$                  |
| Preparing food .....                    | $\frac{3}{4}$                  |
| Sweeping (twice a week).....            | $\frac{1}{4}$                  |
| Marketing .....                         | $\frac{1}{4}$                  |
| Shelling corn .....                     | $\frac{1}{4}$                  |
| Resting .....                           | $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1             |
| Visiting, not every day.....            | 1                              |

Daily minimum (exclusive of resting and visiting)..... 5  $\frac{1}{2}$

Washing and bath, Wednesdays, 9 a. m. to 1 or 2 p. m.

None of the women interviewed were too poor to pay for having their maize ground. If they had ground their own maize on the metate, the hours of labor would have been materially increased.

576 In addition to learning the techniques of earning a living and acquiring the necessary sense of responsibility to manage one's affairs, adult life usually requires the learning of a number of rules of behavior. Adults should know that it is never proper to enter a house yard without an invitation, even though it be unfenced. Visitors knock on the gate or call out until an invitation is given. Usually someone comes to the gate to inquire what is wanted, unless the person is very well known. Men are never invited in unless the man of the household is present. If one calls on a person about business, one always stands and talks about other things for a bit first.

576 When one meets friends of the same sex, one says "Good day," "Good afternoon," or "With God" (*Buenos días, buenos tardes, adiós*). If persons stop to talk, they touch hands in greeting and on farewell. A person of opposite sex, if well known, will be greeted in the same way verbally, but the hands will not be touched and, unless the persons are relatives or *compadres*, they will not stop and talk.

If a man visits a friend in his field or his *solar* when he is working, he always helps a bit. A woman calling at the house will help a little with any work going on. If one sees a stray animal and knows the owner, it is good manners to take it to him; if the owner is unknown, the animal should be taken to the municipal building. If one is in a group and people become angry, efforts should be made to dissuade them from fighting unless they are drunk. It is all right to drive another person's dog away (although usually people just give strange dogs a wide berth), but a pig should never be molested unless it is trespassing. It is not proper to punish another person's child, but if he throws a rock, for example, it is all right to throw rocks back.

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432 If you hear a piece of land is for sale and do not know the owner, you get all the information you can about the land and then send the person giving the information to talk to the owner. If you know the owner you go yourself. Most commonly the owner will come to you. It is proper to stand and talk about other things for a while and then make an appointment to go to see the land. On the trip, the final arrangements about the price are usually thrashed out if you decide to buy the land. Then you go together to the municipal building and have a bill of sale made out, for which you pay.

576  
264 At meals the oldest man present is served first, unless there is a male guest present. Then the other men are served and then the women and children. Of course, there are always the small children who come about pestering their mothers for a tortilla and, as Agustín remarked, "Of course you want to get rid of those guys first." When water is passed around and one drinks out of a common pitcher, it is polite to pour a little water on the ground,

576 over the part of the rim the lips have touched,  
264 before passing the pitcher on.

515 Adults bathe fairly regularly on their own initiative. Young men and women usually bathe at least once a week; older men may not bathe more than once a month. Most people go to a special bathing place, Uékuaro, a waterfall in one of the *barrancas* beyond Parícutin, but women sometimes bathe at home. The bathing place at Uékuaro is reserved for men on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday; for women the rest of the week. Most people soap themselves freely and shampoo the hair thoroughly.

[834] Young men seemed a bit shy when bathing, often covering the genitals with the hand when turning toward others, but older men and boys seemed to have no self-consciousness.

Head lice afflict many if not all Cherán residents, especially children. Delousing is a common occupation when women are visiting or resting with the children about. Men also delouse the children, but a man was never seen being deloused. Sunny days when people sit about the house yards are a favorite time, but delousing was never seen on the streets.

517 Most adults possess a fairly common set of  
523 likes and dislikes, some of which have been developed during childhood, others acquired as adults. Perhaps the strongest likes are for the fiestas, *mayordomías*, and weddings. These are the core of the *costumbres* and Cherán people are as passionately attached to the body of practices they call customs as are most Mexican Indian groups. Most people are also fond of

[247] flowers, and almost every house has a little flower garden. Shasta daisies, dahlias, iris, larkspurs, marigolds, geraniums, calla lilies, roses, and gladiolus are the most popular plants. Fancy pottery, especially the green glazed ware of Patambán and La Cañada, the brown or black glazed ware of Santa Fe and Quiroga, and the colored glazed wares of Guanajuato and, to a lesser extent, Guadalajara, are all prized and accumulated for special occasions. Lacquered plates and gourds are also liked. Many have a real passion for collecting miniatures of the material artifacts of Tarascan life. Miniatures are found on sale in abundance at every fiesta and might be mistaken for playthings, but they are all bought by adults who hang them up in the kitchen and the "troje." Both sexes like

362 used for sleeping ordinarily. This seems to be  
 184 true of the Lake, Zacápu, and Cañada sections.  
 How far this is a function of the type of archi-  
 tecture and how far it is due to climatic condi-  
 tions remains to be established. In general, the  
 Sierra region is colder and sleeping is in the  
 kitchen even where masonry-adobe buildings exist.

#### CEREMONIAL AND SOCIAL

#### FUNCTIONS RELATED TO THE TARAS- CAN HOUSE

342 and are expected to attend or send excuses. When  
 431 they arrive, they give the householder or his wife  
 476 a package of cigarettes or 10 or 15 centavos,  
 which is regarded as the equivalent of the package  
 of cigarettes. The men present their cigarettes  
 to the man of the house, the women to the wife.  
 [576] The man salutes those who make this present,  
 tipping his hat and shaking hands. The women  
 also shake hands and curtsy. The women help  
 in the preparation of food, while the men help  
 the master builder and his assistants with the  
 roof.

342 After the work is well along, a bottle of *aguar-  
 264 diente*, or *charanda*, is circulated at intervals  
 476 among those working. When the work is com-  
 pleted, the men are fed, then all the boys. They  
 are all seated on two logs facing one another.  
 Male relatives of the house owner assist in serv-  
 ing; sometimes a *compadre* will aid also if he is a  
 particularly good friend of the householder. The  
 women eat in a group near the fires where cooking  
 [262] is done. The food is the regular ceremonial  
 food: tortillas, beef stew with chile and cabbage  
 (*curípu*), and tamales (*kurúnda*).

342 The master builder meanwhile leaves the house  
 and shortly afterward returns with his wife and  
 other immediate members of his family. They  
 are seated on a mat facing the new house and are  
 fed there. A cross with an arch over it, decorated  
 [531] with paper flowers, is set in the middle of the  
 ridge of the roof. It is said to protect the house  
 against violent storms and the devil.<sup>6</sup> The house

<sup>6</sup> Use of the cross on the house is common throughout the Tarascan area. In most of the Sierra towns, the crosses are only some 10 inches (25 cm.) in height, but in Particutin they are over a meter (39 in.) tall. Here the cross is placed against the house wall, and often with a vase or jar for flowers tied to it. Tile-roofed houses have the cross painted in white on the tiles, fastened to the wooden "shoe" supporting the ridge pole, or carved on the capital.

In Paracho, the priest is often brought to bless a new house. Two men go to request the priest's presence. They are regarded as godfathers of the house and become *compadres* of the house owner and the master carpenter.